1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

villages of the great-grandfathers' generation survived, even ritually (*vide* Document, pp. 881–5).[1]

Men also move from one village to another and they do not always join a village of their exact contemporaries. A stranger may come and be granted land in a village even though he is considerably older or younger than the bulk of its members. Such movement from one village to another is now very considerable: we estimated that at least 80 per cent of the married men have at some time or other moved from the chiefdom in which they first cultivated gardens of their own. There is also movement from village to village within a chiefdom.

Everyone agreed that moving is not something new. In the past a convicted witch was expelled from his village, and sometimes from the chiefdom; thieves and adulterers were also expelled or fled to take refuge with another chief (*vide infra*, pp. 118–3). But it is probable that movement between villages has increased greatly since the imposition of European control. The main reason for moving nowadays is, as we have said, the fear of witchcraft. Subsidiary reasons are the desire to get suitable land for cultivating cash crops, the desire to be near some centre of employment (such as Tukuyu or Rungwe), and the desire to live with others of like mind, as fellow Christians or fellow pagans, fellow Moravians or fellow adherents of the 'Watch Tower' (*vide infra*, pp. 40–3).

Women move from one village to another even more often than men, for, not only do wives move with their husbands, but a girl commonly marries a man of a village other than that in which she grew up, and is later inherited by a kinsman of her dead husband who lives in yet another village. Since first wives are usually ten years younger than their husbands, and junior wives may be forty or fifty years younger, most women are inherited at least once during their lives, and some are inherited several times. The modern high divorce rate accelerates this long-established circulation of women from village to village.

[1] It is possible that the existence of villages of four generations was due to the fact that Mwaipopo continued to live long after the 'coming out' of his two Mwanalunga—a survival not usual in traditional practice (*vide supra*, p. 30).

1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

torts committed by its members has also disappeared. Instead, there is both a great increase in the number of cases treated as offences against the state; murder, manslaughter and grievous bodily injury being no longer treated as offences against a group of kin, but as crimes against the state; and a great extension in the range of law. A modern Nyakyusa has no difficulty in suing a debtor, or the seducer of his wife, living in another chiefdom.

Nevertheless neighbours still feel a certain obligation for the maintenance of each other's rights. For example, a certain young man eloped with a very young girl, who, though betrothed, had not yet reached puberty. On their way out of the district they were seen by a 'village father' of the girl, who brought them back to her father, and then joined with him and other neighbours in beating the young man and taking him to the chief. The youth admitted his fault in seducing so young a girl and asked the chief to summon his father-in-law (for he was already married) that he might borrow from his father-in-law the cattle with which to pay the fine for seduction. But his father-in-law was a neighbour of the father of the girl he had seduced, and he refused to lend any cattle, saying, 'You have run off with the daughter of my neighbour in the village: that means you have wronged me.'

And a group of herd-boys are still liable to be treated by their fathers as responsible for one another. One informant, discussing a case of bestiality committed by a herd-boy, remarked that the leader of the group forbade the others to mention it at home on the ground that 'if our fathers know they will say that we all (in this herd group) do it.'

d. Social separation

One of the mechanisms for maintaining good relations in Nyakyusa villages (as in all groups) is the separation of the dissident individual from the group.[1] This separation may be compulsory or voluntary. As we have seen, witches, thieves, adulterers, and obstinate debtors were formerly banished from Nyakyusa villages because they were regarded as a danger to their neighbours, liable to harm them directly or to bring retribution upon them. The village, being held responsible for certain actions of its members, and forming a defensive unit against the out-

[1] M. G. and M. Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change*, pp. 60-1.

1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

posed action of witches, exercised the right of expelling members thought to be dangerous to it. Nowadays, since a village is no longer held responsible for the torts of its members, men are not often banished for theft or adultery, but supposed witches and sorcerers are still frequently compelled to move.

There is also a great deal of voluntary movement to escape friction in the village. This is commonly expressed in terms of witchcraft—a family moves to avoid the witchcraft of its neighbours; but neighbours are not feared unless there has been a quarrel. It is when the parties to some dispute have *not* been reconciled that fear of witchcraft germinates, and illness precipitates a move.

Among ordinary commoners only their immediate neighbours are believed to be dangerous and such men therefore sometimes move only from one village to another of the same chiefdom; but very many move right outside to another chiefdom altogether, preferring to make assurance doubly sure and to put a long distance between themselves and their spiritual persecutors. And in the case of certain men of high social status, such as senior village headmen, who are the advisers of the chief, and priests, for whom a wider circle is dangerous, it is held to be essential to leave the chiefdom.

We have argued (*vide supra*, p. 36) that movement from village to village has always occurred among the Nyakyusa but that it is increasing. The change is almost certainly a symptom of increasing friction within the village. One traditional mechanism of settling disputes—the ordeal—has lapsed, while fear of one's neighbours' witchcraft continues. It is possible also that the incidence of disease, and hence of suspected witchcraft and sorcery, has increased among the Nyakyusa—tuberculosis and venereal diseases are said to have spread greatly since 1914[1] and, in the opinion of the German missionaries, malaria is much more prevalent at the higher altitudes than it was before 1914; but there

[1] The incidence of tuberculosis in Rungwe district is now thought to be about thirteen per thousand (C. Wilcocks, *Tuberculosis in Tanganyika Territory*, Government Printer, Dar-es-salaam, 1938). Dr. D. Kerr-Cross, in a list of diseases encountered during ten years' practice in north Nyasaland before 1897, reports that he only saw one case of 'pulmonary tuberculous phthisis', but syphilis (which the natives called 'the disease of the Arabs'), was very prevalent. Dr. Kerr-Cross was a missionary doctor who travelled extensively in Nyakyusa country. (See his articles already cited and H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, pp. 472-3.)

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa
Selga, Mulngonde

(*kwipuli*), they are in the body at first, they shake it and you fall ill; they say: 'You are still muddy, you have not done the ritual.' . . . When a man dies his heart (*indumbulo*) and his body (*umfimbo*) separate, they are divorced, the heart with the blood (*ililopa*) and the shadow (*ikiyungulo*) are separated from the corpse which rots in the ground. The corpse is filth, it is excrement. And so when a madman, for whom they have not performed the ritual, eats filth, that is the corpse, he is still holding it, they have not done the ritual for him. If they have not done the ritual for the shade his fellows drive him back and say: 'You cannot come yet, you are still muddy, they have not bathe you in the river.' . . .

Yes, that which they do to my body, to me the heir (or the relative) they do to the shade himself. He, the corpse, is earthy, muddy. That is why we smear ourselves with mud, we mourners; it is this earth that we drive away in the ritual, it is mud, it is the corpse. . . .

The hair of the mourners which we shave in the ritual is one with the hair of the corpse, it is his. We wash and shave and anoint him and he goes to his own place. . . .

First we bite the banana with the seeds stuck into it in the ground, and then we eat bananas and seeds in the usual way. It is the food which he, the shade, ate. . . .

They wive the heir and widows at the pumpkin-seed ritual. The officiant is there, she smears ashes on their chests and puts a strand of *ilingulungufwa* creeper on their necks, then if the woman refuses the man later there is a case and she must pay the fine for adultery. If she refuses before this there is no case, and she does not pay. The ashes and creeper are signs of death, of mourning, of the corpse—they cast them away into the river.

QUESTION: The rubbing in earth—what does it represent?

KAMTULE: The banana flower is the corpse. We are saying to him: 'You corpse, we have finished with you, do not come here again, it is finished for ever, do not look towards us, go away.' This earth is the same as the mud with which we smear ourselves at the burial. We bathe, we cast it away.

QUESTION: The washing at the door with medicine?

KAMTULE: We wash with powdered medicine at the door because we are just going to take filth (*indyo*) in our hands—to take the bananas and pumpkin-seeds. We bathe, we wash, and then they give us the bananas. It is taboo (*mwiko*) to eat before washing. The calabash used for this washing is hung up in the porch and used for the beer later, the beer which they drink on the path after smearing themselves.

QUESTION: The bananas and lentils and pumpkin-seeds?

KAMTULE: At the eating of bananas and pumpkin-seeds we do not separate them, everything is then pressed together in one place; but the banana flower we bury is separate, that is the corpse. And at the

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

vomit by tickling the back of my throat with a hen's feather, while I am standing under the fall with the water coming down on my head. The blood of him you have killed is in the waterfall. May it not come! May it all go out of the body! You vomit because it is there in the body. May it go out! Then a medicine is cooked and the legs of the slayer and his relatives are scalded with it. It is the medicine of twins: the twin medicine and the spearing medicine are one because they are a rejection of the blood. When people's legs have been splashed then we all shave; that is to drive away him whom we have killed. 783

But even after such treatment the kin of the slayer and the slain fear to eat together. 'We remain enemies. If we eat with them it makes us thin.' 783 602

Those who drink protective medicines are the agnatic kin of the slayer and the slain, their mothers' kin (*abijwa*) and their wives, but not their affines. 'Those who must be treated are wives, and blood relatives but not affines. Affines are of different blood, but wives are of your flesh.'

The spearing ritual is not a joint ritual in which a large group of kin participate; married men, even brothers, make their own arrangements for taking protective medicine. 783

We do not meet together with all our relatives, the descendants of one man, no, it is not like the twin ritual. We drink it each man with his wives and children in his house. If I have a married brother he also goes to a doctor to ask for medicines for himself. He seeks his own doctor, not the one to whom I went. We drink separately, we do not meet together when we drink.

Only if a daughter had been given in compensation for a murder (as sometimes happened) and later he who married her took marriage cattle to her father to establish kinship, then, our informants said, the two parties should drink the 'medicine of spearing' (*umbita gwa lukungu*) together. 783 602

(3) *Rotting the rope*

A man who has been bound with ropes (*ingopi*), or has committed suicide by hanging,[1] or raided cattle and tethered them, is also 783 681 ●

[1] What the incidence of suicide is among the Nyakyusa we do not know. The Rev. Abernethy, one of the first Europeans to live in the area, speaks of it being 'not uncommon'. We recorded two cases: one of a man whose wife and children had died; the other a woman forced to leave her lover and marry against her will. R, a Christian whom we knew well, swore to his pagan elder brother that he would commit suicide if his brother insisted on the pagan practice of performing an autopsy on the body of their dead sister. [762]

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

753 •681 believed to be a danger to his kin and descendants, but in a manner somewhat different from the one who has killed another. The sickness is thought to come from the ropes and is called *isyoje* after them.

Mwaikambo explained:

[783] If one member of a family commits suicide by hanging then his surviving relatives, if they do not drink a medicine, will die of the 'ropes', always. If a man hangs himself all his relatives fear; if a woman only her children.

Kaitile's wife, Kilulili, had borne ten children, but all save one had died. He said:

It is because of the ropes of her father. They bound him at Tukuyu; he died in gaol; it is those ropes which are killing my children. I said to her father [i.e. the heir]: 'Let us go to divine,' but he has not yet agreed to do so.

The death of Mukwahila, a junior kinsman of the Chief Mwaipopo, whose funeral we attended, was attributed to the ropes used to tether cattle raided by his grandfather. Kaitile, himself a distant agnatic kinsman, explained this case also:

One of the fathers of Mukwahila was killed by the hill people. They seized him on the road. So in revenge Mwamunkha, the father of Mukwahila, took twenty cows belonging to the hill people as they passed north, coming from the salt lick. This was long ago. Then Mukwahila's father omitted to kill a cow for those who had helped him to secure the cows. So they were angry and brought *isyoje*—the disease of ropes—upon him. *After seizing the cattle he moved to Mwambahasi's* country in the hills and he was quite well, but then he came back to live here, first sending two cows to the Chief Mwaipopo, but killing none for the people, who were angry and said: 'Why does he not kill for us? What sort of chief is he?' He got weak and fell ill and died. They did not perform an autopsy, saying it was forbidden to do it on a chief, and his son died also and was not examined, but now when the younger son died, Mwaipopo said: 'Let us examine him so that we may know.' And it is that old *isyoje*. . . .

The sickness of ropes (*isyoje*) is of three sorts coming from: (1) the suicide (by hanging) of a relative long ago; (2) the binding of a man by other people, as distinct from a man binding himself; and (3) the slightest unmindfulness of men and their breath. To threaten they put the sickness of ropes into his stomach, they say: 'May the sickness of ropes come into his stomach.' The sickness of ropes lies in wait for an heir. A man dies and the sickness comes on his heir, whom are all right; so it

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

goes on. Mwammika was never bound, but we say it was that sickness of the ropes of the cattle that he seized from the hill people. Perhaps the people of that country were shocked, and the sickness is due to their breath, to witchcraft. Perhaps the owners of the cattle took the ropes they had used for tying up the cattle which were stolen, to a doctor to be cooked with medicine. We have not discovered the details yet, we have not yet been to divine; the divination will tell us, however. But the medicine for rotting the ropes (*mbeye*) is the same for all these illnesses from ropes, so we cook it immediately, before going to divine. We divine when we clear away the litter. The cooking of medicine at the grave now is to rot him who has died that the sickness of ropes (*ngopi*) may not come on us. Yes, only the heir fears to die, but we others fear lest we fall ill, coughing. The sickness of ropes does not kill us, but makes us ill and thin. Yes, I drank and ate the medicine myself. After the divination we drink another medicine, in beer, not the *imasi* beer. They brew another lot just for the medicine.

We saw the drinking of medicine 'to rot the ropes' at Mukwabile's funeral. He was buried at Kanitile's homestead and Kanitile was organizing the proceedings. The doctor dug a hole at the foot of the grave and put into it a length of green wood which projected a foot or so above the level of the ground. On this was balanced a pot, and a fire was lighted beneath it. In the pot she boiled certain leaves and roots. She took a large drinking calabash, put in some ash from a fire-brand, added some of the same species of leaves as had gone into the pot, and stirred up the mixture with water. This mixture was drunk by the relatives present and fifteen or twenty leaf cups were made to send to those who had not come. Medicated porridge was also made and some was eaten by the relatives present.

Then the pot was taken off the fire. We were told: 'We are praying (*tulipakaipale*). We want to take the pot off the fire.' No words were said, but the medicines were taken out of the pot by the deceased's father's sister (the oldest surviving member of the lineage) to prepare more porridge for those relatives who had not attended, and the officiant poured the water into a hole which she made in the middle of the grave. She covered it again with earth.

While the officiant was preparing the medicine at the grave, Kanitile, who was helping her, said to a half-brother of the deceased:

> Pray earnestly with this medicine, be on good terms with others. Have mercy. Ho! What can we three against me?

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1917 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

[585] of which the basic rule is the separation of the reproductive
834 activities of successive generations.

If my wife goes to the inner part of my mother's house, it is a wrong. Perhaps she will bear a thin and sickly child. She has gone to the inner part of her in-law's house and my mother is angry with her for going where my father goes. Perhaps, when she is first pregnant, my wife goes to the back of her own mother's house. That is a wrong, too. Perhaps she will have a difficult labour. The trouble in both cases comes from the anger of the elders, my mother's in the first case, her mother's in the second. It is said that if my wives have seen my father by inheritance, then, when I die, the fathers who are dead will not receive me because I have injured ('kept back') their younger brother. I think, for my part, that the pagans honour this custom [of avoidance] very much because they say that the shades will be angry if it is neglected.

775 Apart from the neglect of rituals the types of behaviour com-
673 monly believed to be directly punished by the shades are (1) quar-
578 rels between father and son or between brothers, turning on the
•581 seduction of a senior's wife by his junior, on the sharing of mar-
riage-cattle or, nowadays, on the sharing of the earnings of a young man working for wages, or on his seduction of women which necessitates the payment of fines by his father; (2) quarrels between father and daughter or father-in-law and son-in-law turning on the handing over of marriage-cattle by the son-in-law and the provision of gifts for his daughter by the father; (3) quarrels between husband and wife; (4) quarrels between relatives of all sorts over failure to attend, or to perform, rituals; and (5) the neglect of his wards by the heir.

578 Cases of family quarrels over seduction leading to misfortune
775 have already been quoted (pp. 158-9; 187-8). One concerning cattle and earnings was cited by Mwakwelebeja. A young man, X., went out to work and left the cattle he earned with his elder full brother. When he married he took all these cattle and gave them to his father-in-law. His elder brother was very angry. X. said: 'I take all the cattle for you have never given me any of yours.' His brother replied: 'How could I give you cows? I have no children.' Then all the cattle X. had given to his father-in-law died and had to be replaced. 'The shades were angry because when the younger brother took to cows his elder brother complained very much.' And if a young man goes out to work and gives his father no share of his earnings the shades are angry: 'Perhaps I will fall ill, perhaps when I look for work I shall not

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

686 shades usually do, and I shall wander a long time on the way to the land of the shades because I shall have no relatives to show me the way. And then when I get there I shall still have trouble. They will drive me away from them, and I shall live alone, apart from them, quite separate.

775 764 More rarely a shade is said to be angry because his grave has been left unswept, or he has not been buried where he asked to be.

621 •681 The kinds of behaviour believed to be punished by 'the breath of men' are very similar to those thought to be punished by the anger of senior kinsmen; and, indeed, as we have seen, kinsmen and neighbours may murmur together against a son who has seduced his father's wife, a girl who has behaved insultingly to her parents-in-law, either verbally or by a breach of avoidance, and an heir who has neglected his wards or has neglected the customary ritual for his father, more particularly the customary killing of a cow when he enters into his inheritance. It is said that neglect to provide them with certain customary feasts infuriates neighbours more than anything else.[1]

The misfortunes that threaten from the neglect of rituals, and from the anger of kinsmen and neighbours, are loss of sanity, of life or health or fertility; a difficult labour or a lingering death; repeated miscarriages; loss of beauty (a wicked woman goes bald or turns reddish); scanty crops or sick herds, or, nowadays, unemployment—the man whose father is angry does not find a job. Only rarely is it suggested that punishment may be postponed until after death and then what is feared is that the shades of the lineage will not receive their kinsman.

775 771 688 When Nyakyusa talk about their religion they speak mostly of external things, of the rituals, of the angry words spoken by kinsmen or neighbours and of the fearful effects upon one against whom this anger is directed. Misfortune is said to be brought down on a man by his parents muttering in anger over the fire, by people murmuring against him (the word used is that for the humming of a hive of bees). The emphasis is on outspoken complaint or criticism. But it is also thought that 'the shades see what is within a man': if he stores one wife of fish, then 'even though the woman herself has not said anything, the shades hear the thought of the belly'. Sleeplessness and an unquiet mind are taken as evidence of the anger of the shades or the attacks of witches.

[1] cf. Monica Wilson, *Good Company*, pp. 113-6.

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
F7617 Ngonde F7617

has ever been able, or willing, to give me the name of either slave or owner in a single case. Yet such is the terrifying influence which some natives exert over others, that it is not difficult to believe that here and there throughout the country there may be individuals to whom continued slavery is a smaller evil than the wrath of an exposed owner, and therefore the fact of their bondage is not reported to the authorities.

Many circumstances might combine to make the freeman a slave, and the slave a freeman. A man who led astray the wife of a chief, if discovered, paid a son or daughter to the husband. So also, one found stealing from a garden was similarly penalised. Mocking at a lame man was a crime which could only be atoned for by the same kind of payment; and a man who could not pay just debts might himself be taken by the creditor. Prisoners of war, it need hardly be added, were slaves. On the other hand, the owner might find himself obliged by circumstances to restore children so obtained; if not, he was obliged to find wives or husbands for them. A slave might be a member of the council, and there are cases where slaves acquitted themselves so well in battle that they were granted their freedom. So long as it remained purely domestic, it was not an altogether intolerable condition. There was an ex-slave living at Karonga not long ago, who supported as long as she lived the old woman who was once his owner, and that, as he assured me, from genuine affection. On the other hand, a man, not yet beyond the prime of life, was present when a slave was buried alive along with the

[illegible] Many cases were of course decided by the common people among themselves, others by their own commoners, and others by the local chiefs sitting with their great commoners. Although there was no centralized judicial system, the political hierarchy of chiefdoms sometimes could be used to obtain redress in the case of a quarrel between men of different chiefdoms. The weakness of the system is indicated by the fact that restitution for wrong done was often obtained by the method of capturing a hostage.[1]

[illegible] Witchcraft was punished by death. So adultery, if caught, was killed by the husband. Deliberate murder required compensation up to ten head of cattle and the murder of a woman, followed by a feast of reconciliation. If the murderer could not be caught a blood feud would be started, ending with a feast of formal reconciliation under the guidance of a diviner. Accidental homicide required compensation, but no feast of reconciliation, as there had been no malice. A cattle-thief caught red-handed might be killed on the spot, arson was settled by payment of compensation.[2]

Native Government

[illegible] (a) *Uganda.* The British Government in Uganda at first applied the system of direct rule. Chiefs and nobles were recognized as 'village' or 'principal' headmen, performing executive duties for the Administration. The Kyonga was one of the 'principal' headmen, but was not recognized as Paramount. In 1900 the system was modified by the setting up of advisory councils in association with the headmen and the District Resident. The members of the councils were nominated and removable by the Government, and there was no intention of reviving tribal government.

[illegible] In 1903 the system of Indirect Rule was introduced. The Kyonga was recognized as paramount chief, with an appeal court and five sub-chiefs under him. Of these, one, Kilagala, was over the northern part of the Uganda plain, another ruled the Lamiya in the extreme north-west, and the three others were distant scattered native ruling groups of alien stock in the hills. The nobles of Uganda, with twelve prominent nobles and six other assessors, were recognized as members of the Kyonga's court and given nominal salaries. Three of the great chiefs of Uganda who were not made sub-chiefs were officially termed 'important' headmen, and given nominal salaries. The other chiefs and territorial nobles were still termed 'village' headmen as before 1903. The Kyonga and the five sub-chiefs were each given an area and a court for the area. Village and important headmen could intervene in small cases but had no power to execute judgements. That power belonged to the courts above. The Kyonga's court was also a court of appeal for the whole of Uganda. A Native Treasury was established, into which one-tenth of the tax was paid, but this was almost entirely expended on personal emoluments.

The full traditional constitution cannot be revived, as the religious beliefs which supported it have been superseded. Forty-five per cent. of the population profess Christianity, and even the belief in witchcraft, which operated in certain cases as a constitutional check, is less persistent than before. The native rulers are no longer believed to control the rain and the health and fertility of their people, as they stood so full by the performance of their secular duties alone. Since the Kyonga has come [illegible] of religious activities the nobles of Uganda are relegated to advisory status. The modernization of the constitution tends in this region to make it more autocratic, both

[1] Roscoe, J. 1911 p. 48 etc. [2] Mackenzie, 1925, pp. 82-90.

S:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1938 F3617 Ngonde F3617 Nyakyusa

same chiefdom to which the trees were growing; for between chiefdoms an actual or potential state of war always existed, and a man coming from a hostile group to claim property would have been driven away violently. But to-day under European rule it is now customary for a man to cut his own bamboos, if he is living in a neighbouring chiefdom, instead of leaving them to his resident kinsfolk. The group within which property can be held is gradually widening.

Such is the custom among the Kukwe and Selya groups; their rights in bamboos and cowpeas trees are not normally lost when a man moves provided there are kinsfolk left nearby to exercise them. The one exception to this rule is in the case of expulsion for witchcraft or other serious crime. Then even if the man expelled has left kinsfolk behind him, still the chief takes his trees.

Among the Nyakyusa proper, on the other hand, the cowpea trees are treated like bamboos. When a man moves he loses all rights in them and, unless the chief steps in to take them, as he always may, they are granted by the great-commoner, together with the soil, to the newcomer who is put on the site. Bamboos, as in Selya and Kukwe country, continue to belong to the kinsmen of the man who has moved.[1]

Trees introduced by the Europeans, of which coffee trees are the most valuable, have been declared by the Federation of Chiefs to be the property of the planter, even although he has moved to a different chiefdom. This law was made after much anxious discussion between the chiefs, the Administration and the Agricultural Department and is, of course, subject to revision if it is found after trial to be impracticable. In the case of coffee it has inevitably been modified in practice since coffee must be tended continuously if it is to remain free from pests and to bear fruit, and any man who actually looks after coffee trees has a generally admitted claim to the crop unless he is paid by the planter for his labour. The planter, however, in surrendering the trees to him may compel him to pay something for their initial value.

Further, as the Agricultural Officer has the right to uproot any unwanted coffee trees and must exercise it if pests are to be kept under control, the practice has grown up of his taking over any large number of abandoned trees and keeping them clean with labour paid by the Native Treasury; the trees are subsequently sold to some other man and the proceeds paid into the Native Treasury again. If, however, a planter of coffee trees makes arrangements, when he moves, for the cleaning of his coffee then the trees remain his own.

[1] Some informants deny this and insist that they always pass to the chief. I was on myself long in Mwaporole among the Nyakyusa proper and I felt considerable evidence on the point.

8:Wilson E-5 (1934-1936)1936 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

he settles many legal disputes between his neighbours. The village is, both for men and women, the chief field of friendship, conversation and mutual hospitality; and its members recognize greater obligations towards one another than they do towards those outside. Before the coming of the Europeans the age-village was also a military unit, led by its own great commoner, in the constant fights between chiefdoms.

In most villages there are several herds of cattle which feed separately. The herd boys, as we have seen, thus form separate groups within the village, as also do their fathers; the boys are related in the common activity of herding, the men, owners of the herd, by their joint interest in it and their common fear of witchcraft.

In the relationships of villagers the belief in witchcraft is a constantly recurring factor. It is believed that certain people, both men and women, have the power of harming their neighbours and their neighbours' cattle without taking any overt action whatever, without reciting any spells or performing any magical ritual at all.

Their influence, which is exercised at night in dreams, is only fully visible to those who are themselves endowed with this power; and to it is constantly attributed both sickness in men and the failure of cows to give milk. In this belief the elements of actual ill will and quarrelling, of actual sickness and the failure of cows to give milk and of actual dream experiences are combined in a significant whole. Witches are of two kinds, they say, those who use their power rightly (*aba mwiyo*) and those who use it wrongly (*aba'ai*). The first kind are said generally to spend their dreams in trying to prevent the others from harming those whom they love. The good witches are the "*defenders of the village*," and in each village the great commoner is believed to be the first among them. In each group of men whose cows are herded together there is, again, commonly one man who has the reputation of *defender of the herd*, who is believed to protect the cows from the witchcraft of disgruntled individuals or other members of that small group or one. But if, at any time, a single person earns a general unpopularity in the village, whether by his pride, his meanness or by wrongdoing, then it is believed that the defenders themselves lead the spiritual attack against him, and he falls sick. Such a blast of unpopularity acting through the power of witchcraft is called the "*breath of man*" (*umbuyo gwa mundu*); and the belief in its efficacy is one of the chief sanctions of the accepted social order of Nyakyusa life.[1]

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[1] Cf. Godfrey Wilson, "An African Morality," *Africa*, Jan. 1936.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
F317 Ngonde F317
Nyakyusa

the shades and the hearths which was stressed; in Perekem's country people talked mostly of the witches; but it seemed clear that both conceptions were present when men murmured: 'The hearth bricks are bad' (*amafyo mabibi*) and they sought to cleanse them by cleaning out the old fire and lighting new. 'To clear out the ashes means they take away all that dirt, the dirt which the witches have brought and the shades; it is the cause of illness.' When witches are thought to be active there is also a public complaint, and a public warning is given 'to whom it may concern' to desist.[1] This occurred in the ritual after the ground hornbill had eaten the chicken. Above all, men must admit their anger to one another: 'they fight that the homesteads may be peaceful'. The theme so familiar in Nyakyusa rituals—that quarrels must be confessed if they are to be composed—occurs yet again. Though we distinguish the rituals for 'cleansing the country' from sacrifices, on the ground that the whole community participates in the 'cleansing' while the sacrifice is exoteric, the two are closely linked, and a sacrifice commonly precedes or follows the cleansing. We turn now to the detailed accounts of celebrations for 'cleansing' in Ngonde and among the Kukwe.

(*a*) THE RATS

In Ngonde they used to clear out the ashes at the new year, at the first hoeing (in December) after 'the break of the rains'. They feared that death and disease would spread through the land if they continued living with the old fires, that the shades in the earth, both the shades of chiefs and of commoners, would be angry. Let them drive the shades away and hoe in peace. They always remembered to do so each new year; for the old men used to keep these things in mind continually, they never forget. The Kyungu would summon the whole country to clear out the ashes; and then they would hoe in peace. And at other times, too, if prophecy came on someone, they would clear out the ashes again. 'It is to drive away the shade with the sickness that he brings. We throw out the ashes and firebrands because he has come to warm himself over the fire in our houses, we throw out the pots and winnowing baskets because he has come to see us eating; let him go there (to the grove) and eat what he asked for—we say the shades ask for food—let him eat here, perhaps a sheep. We say the shades bring sickness to the fire, hence we throw out the ashes and make new fire with a drill.'

The nobles of Ngonde approached the Kyungu and he gave

[1] cf. Monica Wilson, *Good Company*, pp. 119-23.

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
F3U7 Ngoreko F3U7
Nyakyusa

are said to give their wives a medicine (without their knowledge) which will cause any man who lies with them to fall ill of gonorrhoea or some other venereal disease. Many Christians believe in this medicine and some inquired whether Europeans did not use it also. One family of doctors are specialists in it:

[79] The men of Manyelo are very famous, they are great doctors. People fear them very much. No one can steal anything belonging to them or run off with their wives. If a man runs off with a wife of theirs, he will return their wife and pay. . . . Because when he has slept with the woman by night they stick in each other's genitals, the woman sticks in the face of the man and he likewise in hers. And if rain falls by night the roof comes off the hut in which they sleep and the rain enters. Perhaps the man quarrels with the woman, perhaps frogs and snakes are numerous, perhaps gourds sprout in the house—sometimes they sprout bringing evil. So it is also if a man has run off with the wife of another and the husband goes to the men of Manyelo. They agree to work, but he must pay them.

[64] Lyandilolo, whose husband's family have owned a 'horn' for generations, was very insistent that vengeance magic maintained law and order for it could injure only the guilty. 'A thief feared to steal lest he be caught by my father-in-law (Mwasyelage). He feared the horn if he used sorcery. He feared to wish another's cow thinking, "They will go to Mwasyelage".' [69] And protective medicines which cause an adulterer to fall ill of gonorrhoea, or a thief to die, are considered perfectly legitimate; the misfortune would not have befallen the man unless he had done wrong.

[64] The prohibition by the government of the *mwafi* oracle has puzzled people. Medicines are admittedly dangerous, but it is held that Europeans 'encourage' witches and sorcerers by forbidding the use of the one effective weapon against them, and doctors with vengeance magic or other strong medicines 'fear the face of the *mwafi* doctors'. There is an irreconcilable contradiction here, the Nyakyusa relying on *mwafi* and vengeance magic as a means of discovering criminals, and the Europeans punishing any doctor found administering poison, or intimidating people by threats. Furthermore, it is widely believed that Europeans themselves use strong medicines made up with blood. Any European without an obvious occupation are suspect of being *abapumbuzi*, who go around killing people and taking their blood for the Government to use for medicines. One of our European friends,

out all the anger that is within', 'admitting that I have done wrong', begging pardon (*shupshqe*) and also a symbol of ostension and as of driving off the shades (*vide supra*, pp. 104, 108–110; 106). Good health depends upon good social relationships, and of one who is ailing it is commonly said: 'It seems as if they (unspecified) had hated her.' Further, the proper working of the natural order is held to depend upon the proper working of the social order. Drought, or 'cold', or pestilence falls on a chiefdom if there is quarrelling between chief and priest, and the anger of the Lwembe with his 'son' will defeat the crops of Selya. The heroes, the shades, many of the men of power (*shamanga*), and many endictions help to maintain an orderly universe; only the witches and sorcerers work against it. So does, order and right living are an integral part of Nyakyusa religion as they are of Christianity.

The ultimate good is the power of fertility, of generation, which lies in the heroes and shades; the punishment for evil-doing is ill-health of body or mind and sterility. And towards the heroes and shades, who are both life-givers and avengers, the attitude of men is clearly ambivalent: the shades are driven away—'let them warm themselves over there in the long grass', men say when they throw out the ashes (*vide supra*, pp. 109–110) but they bring them home again to 'warm themselves by the hearth'.

In analysing the rituals of the Nyakyusa, I have been driven to the conclusion that they are, in fact, dogged by a sense of guilt,[1] for this is the only hypothesis on which the linking of misfortune and sin, the preoccupation with 'filth', and the recurring acts of purification can be explained. One of the sources of this sense of guilt is, I suggest, awareness of anger within, for it is believed that such anger injures others. An act of confession is essential to many rituals, and what must be confessed are anger, hard thoughts, ill will against others. The anger is acknowledged to come primarily from men—it is the angry person who rouses the shades to action by muttering over the fire—but the guilt, the filth, is projected on to the shade or the hero. It is when they 'kneel on' men that men are contaminated. A shade or a man that is upright—good, righteous—is one without a grudge, without anger against anyone, free of witchcraft, and free of any transgression—'there is no accusation against him'.

[1] Analysed in earlier, cf. 'Nyakyusa Ritual and Symbolism', *American Anthropologist*, n.s., lxi (1959), pp. 798–820.

Williams B-5 (1934-1955) 1959
F307 Zigoude F307
Ryskyvan

going about visiting them in their homes and leading them in a Christian life and to report to his Session all the offending members.

It shall be the duties of a Preacher to go about preaching the Gospel to beginners as well as helping Pastors to encourage members at the Church on Sundays. He should keep records of his itinerary and report the same to his district Pastor.

It shall be the duties of every Deacon whether male or female, to see that all members pay their monthly contribution which is one penny per month and to bring monies or foodstuffs to his or her Pastor at the end of every month, and to bring to the Session those who neglect to pay.

Pastors through the Presiding Pastor are empowered to administer Sacraments — to Baptize and dispense Holy Communion and to exhibit or remove any Elder, Preacher or Deacon who neglects his or her duties, and to report their activities to their Presiding Pastor.

To clear every suspicions among the people, Christians or non-Christians, Pastor or Pastors in the district if found guilty of misconduct or any case of adultery shall be brought to their Session to be tried, and if found guilty shall be suspended from the ministerial duties until his case is referred to the Annual General Conference by his District Pastor.

Any Presiding Pastor or Pastors found intentionally violating these rules as constituted and approved by the Annual General Conference shall, at the discretion of the said General Conference, be suspended or expelled from the Church.

All monies of the Church shall within three months' time be forwarded to the Secretary of Religion who shall bank same in the Savings Bank.

The term of service for Elders and Deacons or Deaconesses shall be for two years only, but an office-bearer may also be suspended before the end of his or her term if:

He or she has committed misconduct.
He or she neglects to fulfil his or her duties.
He or she does not attend Church meetings.
He or she is a drunkard.
He or she is unruly.
He or she exercise unlawfully against Native law which binds African marriages.

No office-bearer of any rank shall be found preaching when he is drunk, but shall hand the Service over to someone else.

Every member of the African National Church shall kneel down when praying. One who is preaching can kneel or stand.

Every member of the African National Church shall cease to drink

9: Wilson B-9 (1934-1955) 1959
F907 Uganda F907
Nyakyusa

having worshipping hours, but shall reserve same until evening when worshipping is over.

Any member found contravening these rules shall be dealt with by the Session and if found guilty shall be suspended or expelled from the Church.

The term of Chairman for the Annual Conference shall be two years, but he shall be elected again if required.

The Annual General Conference shall be composed of a body of men chosen from each division, viz. Pastors, Elders, Deacons, and other suitable men.

A general confession with words and music composed by one of the Pastors of the African National Church, Robert Sambo, is used as an alternative to the Ten Commandments. Numbers numbers 6 to 10 from the original Tambalin.

[Month God we have come before Thee to worship and to confess our sins which we have done during the week.

Response: Why they all go away (*from Bishop*).[1]

We have sinned before Thee in speaking to people, we have offended Thy creatures, we have spoken bad words, we have grieved their hearts, Father.

Why they all go away.

We have sinned against Thee in thoughts coveting the wives and husbands of others, we have broken the Ten Commandments, Father. We have done wrong in our village, Father. Witchcraft, adultery, and incest, all these are in our village. We pray forgive all, Father.

Why they all go away.

Our chiefs do not love one another in their hearts. Take such hearts from them and give them new hearts.

Why they all go away.

A new commandment you have given unto us all to love one another as in Heaven, where there is no quarrelling. Teach us all to keep Thy Word, Father.

Why they all go away.

That our chiefs may be one in loving and ruling their country and their people, and lead us all well. This we pray, Father, grant us.

Why they all go away.

The old worship is broken down; we have come to adore animals which are without God. Call us again to worship, Father.

Why they all go away.

Adieu to the land of our forefathers. We have damaged her with our own ways, by leaving all the ways of our forefathers, ways which gave power to the country, Father.

[1] The phrase used in the pagan ritual for cleansing the country of a sin.

13:Lehmann E-5 (1931) 1951 F307 Sigvede F307
Nyakyusa

sitting there on the yard got up, as quickly as possible held her hands before her eyes and rushed off. This was because this man was her father-in-law. The strict social rules in such circumstances is well known[1].

The next act consisted in shaving the girl's hair on her temples by the wenyago; the father was shaved by a younger brother of his in the same manner. (I cannot remember whether it was also the case with the mother of the girl.)

The old-fashioned hut of the chief's wife.

Then the further ceremony took place again inside the hut. All the participants sat down on mats, and the wenyago accepted the complaints of the parents on the former conduct of their daughter. Sometimes the discussion between these parties, where the wenyago played the role of a mediator as is the case with the sojebi (or speaker) in the court, reached such a pitch of excitement that I thought a serious quarrel had broken out. The excitement was, perhaps, only of a ceremonial character; I was told, however, that in former times corporal punishment has been inflicted, if, indeed, the girl had shown misconduct in the times before.

Next, the girl was instructed by the wenyago in her duties as a wife. These instructions were of a theoretical or moral nature concerning the correct conduct of the girl towards her parents also after the ceremony and towards her future husband. The practical part of the initiation instructions sometimes comes before this ceremony at the end of initiation. These practical instructions cover the preparing of food

1) Cf. Merensky, p 120; Bertrande, p 190 (at Kyimage?). According to Merensky the daughter-in-law has to observe this taboo also towards the brothers of her father-in-law. All these persons are named ukwenyana.